J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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HARVESTING CANE

[p. 62(a)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

rodents, and bats. Furthermore, the plantain has a much superior flavor when gathered green and ripened in a shady and fairly cool place. If allowed to ripen on the plant, the Indians claim that it is insipid.

The banana, which in some respects can hardly be distinguished from the plantain, is cultivated and harvested in precisely the same manner. Of this fruit there are three species: a large yellow, a small yellow, and a small red species; but they are almost never used as human food, being cultivated in nearly as great quantities as are plantains for the purpose of feeding the hogs, of which the Cayapa raise considerable numbers.

Sugar-cane, though introduced, has a native Cayapa name, e′lla, and is one of those products at present most grown by the Indians. Often immediately adjacent to the dwelling, and always within a short distance of it, is a cane-mill and distillery, called tapī′tcī ya or ta′pī ya, usually surrounded by comparatively large fields of cane, which thrives especially in low, wet ground. In pls. I, II, are shown cane-mills which are immediately adjacent to the houses of their owners, and to the right in each case glimpses of the adjacent cane-fields may be had. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, flanked by its field of young cane. This mill is situated directly across the river from the dwelling of its owner.

After the original planting, a few months only are required before the cane is sufficiently mature to be cut. There are no regular times for the harvesting of the cane, which is usually governed by the necessity for a new

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

supply of rum. When it is deemed best to replenish the rum supply, the whole family goes to the cane-field, and each with a machete and a hooked stick about three feet long, clears the field of all weeds and vines, and cuts as much of the matured cane as is needed. The stalks of cane are always cut close to the ground, and all the leaves are stripped off. The butt end of the stalk is then cut diagonally so as to leave a markedly beveled point, which facilitates its insertion between the rollers in grinding. This beveled cut is well illustrated at the lower end of the stalk of cane shown in pl. xv. This is a picture of Antonio Napa, or Pi′tcū apa according to his Cayapa name, chief of the Punta Venado division of the Cayapa, at work in his cane-field, and exhibits a field of cane in process of harvesting. All the cane leaves which are stripped from the stalks, together with the vines and undergrowth, are carried to the side of the field and thrown into the brush, since if they were left on the ground, the vines especially would soon take root and grow as rapidly as before. As the mill is ordinarily immediately adjacent to the field, the cane is carried to it usually upon the shoulders of the harvesters. If, however, it is situated at a distance of several hundred yards, the cane is generally carried to the bank of the river and thence transported by canoe to the mill. The stalks, cut usually into lengths of from four to six feet, are piled in a large rick in front of the rollers used for grinding. As shown in pl. LXIV, the cane may first be corded up on the ground in front of the mill, and later put on the floor in front of the rollers.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[272] freshing and is drunk with much relish by the Indians.
257 The seeds themselves are spread upon mats on the drying platform of the house and are carefully watched during the next couple of weeks to prevent them from being wet by the frequent rains. After this period they are sufficiently dry to be stored away until the next trip down the river, when they are sold to traders. Cacao is [439] one of the most important exports of Ecuador, whose territory is the source of a considerable part of the chocolate of commerce.

274 Although the Cayapa cultivate so much cacao, they
272 drink it only now and then, usually at fiestas. It is prepared by first thoroughly grinding the dried cacao upon a mealing stone such as is used for grinding plantain, and then boiling. For this purpose the Cayapa make a pot of special form, such as that shown in pl. LXXXVII, 9. The boiling chocolate is stirred at intervals with an implement of special form called tcōkōla′*te* tcalī, illustrated in pl. LXI, 6–7. The result of this process is a comparatively thick, very rich and oily liquid, quite unlike the beverage prepared from the ordinary chocolate of commerce, since the chocolate prepared directly from the seeds as above described retains all the natural oil. It may be drunk in this form, but if sugar is available it is usually added.

249 Pineapples (Cayapa, tcī′lya), the only use of which is as
[262] a food, are grown to a limited extent by some of the Cayapa. The green tops of the fruits themselves are planted close together in rows, and from these the plants grow. When once established, such a plant requires

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

very little attention until time to gather the fruit, which in this region is of excellent flavor, especially when allowed to ripen thoroughly on the plant. 249

The fleshy roots of the yuca (Cayapa, kū''tcū) are considerably used as food. The yuca is started by means of cuttings, and requires from seven to nine months to produce the edible roots. These roots are usually boiled in the regular manner when used as an ordinary food, but, as above mentioned, they are also frequently boiled in sugar-cane syrup to make a kind of preserves. The yuca is a very nutritious food, has an excellent flavor, and by many is much preferred to either potatoes or yams. It is never baked. 244 262 [252]

Potatoes (Cayapa, pū'lyū) do not thrive at this low altitude, owing to the heat and humidity, although they grow well in the valleys of the higher Andes. On rare occasions they are obtained from the Indians of these interior valleys who make journeys to the coast for trading and other purposes. They have also been procured in more recent years from the traders about the mouth of the river, but the Cayapa seldom purchase commodities of this class. 244 439 262

Another food of a similar kind which is grown by the Cayapa to a limited extent is the red yam. It is started by cuttings in the ordinary manner. In preparing them for food, the yams are boiled, but are never roasted, as is so frequently done by aboriginal peoples. 244 262 252

Of this class also is the root-stalk of the rascadera (Cayapa, *tū'a*), a species of caladium which is grown to a limited extent by a few of the Cayapa. This is also pre-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

287 imprint of the maul (fig. 6) with which it was beaten as numerous sets of short parallel lines, all at an angle of about forty-five degrees with the perpendicular. Bark cloth is never decorated in any way and is strictly utilitarian. It serves almost exclusively as a sleeping [352 513] mat, and constitutes, together with a mosquito canopy and a thin cotton sheet used as a cover, all that is considered necessary for a bed. It is used occasionally for wrapping a dismantled loom or for some other special purpose.

The beating of the cloth must be done very carefully in order not to cut or tear apart the fibers, thus making holes in the cloth which render it practically worthless. The fibers naturally criss-cross and interlace in such a manner that when the beating is carefully done the result is a cloth which, while very thin, is at the same time very firm. If for any reason, however, a hole does appear in the cloth during the process of beating, it may be mended by simply placing over it a piece of bark of sufficient size to somewhat more than cover it and beating this in. The beating mixes the fibers of the patch with those of the main fabric in such manner as to make the patch almost as firm as the cloth itself.

415 At the present time some of the most characteristic ● 249 utensils of the Cayapa are made from calabashes. They 377 claim that in their former life in the mountains these utensils were of pottery and that the calabash came into use among them only after their arrival on the Rio Cayapas. It is said also that there was originally a calabash tree native to this region, but that the two

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

species now used, the one producing a globular fruit called wa′iyū, and the other an ellipsoidal fruit called cū′lya, were introduced here from Colombia. Every house is provided with one or more of these trees, and usually at least one of each of the two species. These large gourd-like fruits are produced in considerable numbers by such a tree and find a variety of uses. They are gathered when just ready to turn from green to ripe and are immediately hollowed out into utensils of several kinds. The details of manufacture and the uses of these utensils are treated on pages 166–173.

Another fruit, some species of which are said to be indigenous and some introduced, which is found abundantly in this region, is what is called by the local Spanish name guabo or guaba. This requires no cultivation, but the trees are carefully guarded against destruction. It is rarely if ever purposely planted, but grows from the accidental dropping of seeds. In the vicinity of almost every house there are several trees of one or more of these species. The fruits, which grow in long pods, are much esteemed and are almost invariably eaten raw. Each variety has its own special name, as follows:

Cayapa	*Spanish*
mactē′-pa cīlyū,	guabo de macheton (machete guabo, so named on account of the shape of the pod).
ni′ñga cīlyū,	guabo de tacoano.
pī′ cīlyū,	guabo dulce (sweet guabo). The Cayapa name signifies "water guabo."
sa′ cīlyū,	guabo agria (sour guabo). The Cayapa name also signifies "sour guabo."
pū′cīlyū,	guabo.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

222 Of these species the one most commonly found about the houses and the most used is pū′ cīlyū, a wide-spreading tree reaching a height of about forty feet. A general view of this species is shown in pl. v, in which the broad, branching top of one of the trees is shown prominently against the sky toward the left of the center of the picture. The habits of growth of the other varieties are similar to this.

247 301 [527] A species of small Compositæ, called lu′lyū, which somewhat resembles the marigold, is grown with considerable care, its special use being to provide decorative flowers for fiestas. The flowers are made up into long garlands which are draped about the altar of the church or are worn about the necks of those celebrating the fiesta. They are also sometimes inserted in the hair, over the ears, or about the clothing.

249 Upon the drying platform attached to the house there is almost always a fragment of an old canoe or some broken pots or other utensils in which are grown several of the various species of medicinal herbs, such as limoncillo, or of other plants valued for the scent of their leaves or seeds, or plants used as teas.

245 262 In addition to those already mentioned in greater detail, there are several other introduced fruits, such as the papaya, the caimito, the orange, the lemon, the lime, and the sour sap, which are grown so rarely by the Cayapa as to make them almost negligible in a consideration of the vegetal products of the people. They spring up almost always by the accidental falling of seeds in favorable soil, rather than by intentional

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except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte jivaro), he may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by La Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

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Once a year, as a rule, groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and sapotes. Large sections are planted to the taqua palm that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The taqua nut is only a minor item in the

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /únʸi/, but to the authorities at Limones.

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The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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